114 175 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedition] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the 175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found [439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They • [648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaíma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and 175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in- 648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
● 648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned
[501] were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr.,
161 the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possible that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní." Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 174 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokré-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[178] [98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch [648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

114 173 174 After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

823 [173] that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

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Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

Chapter 3

[99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 [648] Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Lingua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

175 The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
[648] 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classi-
[114] fying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

175 (ibid.). [Ed., the last few lines of p. 68 and most of p. 69 are omitted.]

[99:69] Concerning the contact of the Tapirapé with the 175 Whites during the past century, one should also mention the 648 Colégio Isabel [Isabel School], which Couto de Magalhães (2, 132) referred to as follows a few years after its founding in 1871: "... all the tribes of the Araguaia are now represented among its 52 pupils." According to the preface to the second edition of the Viagem ao Araguaya [Journey to the Araguaia] by the same author (1, p. XXV), "About 20 children of both sexes immediately entered from the tribes of the Chavantes, Gorotirés, Cayapós, Tapirapés, and three from the extinct tribe of the Guajajaras."

In this connection, one should note that while the Guajajara are not yet extinct, the same cannot be said of the Colégio Isabel. Its existence was brief. In the account [99:70] of his 1888 journey published in 1892, Ehrenreich (3, 4) writes as follows: "On August 14, a number of Kayapó arrived in Leopoldina. They came from the so-called Colégio Isabel, which is now located two leagues down-river on the left bank, near Dumbazàinho. They were in the company of their headmaster. They provided us with linguistic and somatic data. At the same time, we learned something of the situation in that colony, which is quite typical of the way in which the civilizing task is often carried out in this country. The institute was founded by Couto de Magalhães in the year 1871, with the aim of Christianizing Indian children, turning them into sedentary colonists, and attracting, at the same time, their savage tribal fellows. The government furnished clothes and other imported articles, especially agricultural tools. It also provided a considerable quantity of cattle, of which, at the time of his marriage, every Indian received a certain number. In addition, the government also provided an annual subvention of 5 contos. At the time of Couto de Magalhães, and especially during Sebastião's administration, the school prospered and enjoyed universal respect, even among the most distant savage tribes. Kayapó and Tapirapé children entered the school. I was told that a Tapirapé who had been educated there and who had later returned to his tribe, appeared a few years later on the river bank and awaited the arrival of the steamer for two months in a Karajá encampment so he could send his son to the same institution.

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time 175 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster 648 treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [439] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made 175 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several 726

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 648 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikrẽ, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwanã of Dozahãkã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

114 175 648 A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention. According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

1: Baldus--24 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiitáua, the Indian Kamairahó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angiope Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the

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Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Protecão aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hívát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
●[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

648 166 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Reverend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built, and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

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When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the [825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired, [23] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

[535] [411] At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

• 648 123 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekí (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 609 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanf, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneí" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang [533] [831] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused [522] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other [536] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house, [535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 726 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, another spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

162 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males
621 and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[582] [103:188] The 35 Tampiitíua couples included 20 where the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the
162 occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé
166 formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitíua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village • [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of
758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitíua: there were
166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left
621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

166 756 621 underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytſua, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and tſua, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantſua, from kuruſ or koruſ "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruſ [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotſua, from Manko, the name of a Karajſ who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotſua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoð, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotſua was the "Chichutſua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitſua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

166 361 Tampiitſua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajſ to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajſ I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Berocomandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

177
291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatánamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[191] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatánamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

• 648 The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
177 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[191] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
291 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
301 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatánamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of
the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245
171 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
231 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
[648] Ampaneá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den
Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann
(255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

There were no vestiges of a pair of
231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[648] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

I referred to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

The chickens are not usually fed by human hands either and
295 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of those bugs. This does not mean that they ate anything else during the day.

Just as dogs are never confined in any way, so do the chickens enjoy complete freedom and at the time of my visit used to roost on top of the houses. Their role in Tapirapé culture is to supply feathers on rare occasions, and even more rarely to supply a dish of meat.

The Tapirapé word for "chicken" is vuyranchampokáinia,
[192] which corresponds to the guirá çapucaya listed in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica, which, according to Ayrosa, was probably compiled by Anchieta. [Ed., all but the last paragraph of p. 198 is omitted.]

262 178 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal [574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in 177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on 291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual- 262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their 177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the • 648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organised unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribos da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-193.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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Indian venture to visit the Post. For almost three years, their only contact with Brazilian culture was via the Dominican priests and an occasional hunter who visited them upriver in their own village or at one of the ports along the Tapirapé River which they were accustomed to approach. For a few years, the Tapirapé lived in relative peace.

In 1947, the year when Herbert Baldus again visited the Tapirapé, two events took place which were crucial in the further disorganization of their society. First, he encountered eight families of Brazilians at Porto Velho, half-way up the Tapirapé River, in an area which had always been traditional hunting and fishing territory of the Tapirapé. This was but the beginning of the steady occupation of the lands along the Tapirapé River by Brazilians; by 1953 it was estimated that 120 families were living along the river, and there were three cattle ranches at spots along the banks where the Indians often came to fish and hunt during the dry season. The vast and open campos along the Tapirapé River, which before 1940 simply teemed with game, now provided grazing lands for cattle. No longer was the contact of the Tapirapé with Brazilians sporadic and brief, but it had become continuous and frequent.

Secondly, it was in 1947 that the Tapirapé were attacked by the northern Kayapo as related by Baldus.[4] Four women were killed during the attack and two young women captured by the Kayapo, and the Tapirapé village was burned along with most of their belongings such as hammocks, utensils and tools. The entire Tapirapé group were driven by fear and hunger to the margins of the Tapirapé River where they depended upon a Brazilian rancher and the simple Brazilian frontiersmen for food. From 1947 until 1950, Tapirapé society as an organized unit might be said not to have existed; a group of families lived near a ranch on the Tapirapé River attempting to plant gardens in the narrow strip of forest along the river but they were mainly existing on what

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[1] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, reorganized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer, all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawiãho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest some three or four kilometers from it. The village had been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the most striking changes has to do with the relations of the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquired from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and

/320 cont./

13. Political Conditions.

C 721 Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the C 648 village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Bororo and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavánte battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Šavajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the C C 648 [439] Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to lead off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

C 648 With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the mission Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

/404 cont./
center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (klíwâã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĩwĩrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[Text Continues on P. 339]

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitʃua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

178 Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 262 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 241 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious Tupí Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carâ [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

177 It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact [648] with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitsua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitsua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein
[261] and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitsua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
• 648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

648 Penna da Luz, who lives at Mato Verde, a hamlet established in 1934 on the Mato Grosso side of the Araguaia about 15 leagues above the mouth of the Tapirapé. In the course of time, it became known that it was relatively easy to move cattle from this river to Mato Verde, the land journey from Pôrto Velho being made in a day and a half. Thus, inhabitants of Furo de Pedra and of the mouth of the Tapirapé River ascended this watercourse and settled on its left bank.

When, a few years ago, all regular boat transportation on the middle Araguaia came to a stop after the dissolution of the enterprise that handled the service with motor launches, life in those two locations deteriorated to the point of despair, for there was no longer any outlet for local products. In the entire area, there remained but one man who bought them: Mr. Lúcio. He was and remains the chief supplier of the principal goods needed by the frontiersmen: salt, and some fabric for clothing. Furthermore, he gives them credit. They sell to this man, who owns an outboard motor, a house covered with tiles, and thousands of head of cattle, what little rice and manioc flour they have left over and an occasional cow out of the half dozen that constitute their wealth. They speak well of the man and regard him as their greatest benefactor.

Mutual attraction led Mr. Lucio and his clientele to meet halfway. He set up a ranch on the upper Tapirapé, and the people from the mouth of this river and from Furo de Pedra settled more or less nearby, that is, at Pôrto Velho and inland and up-river from it. As happens to most of the Araguaia settlements, however, the yearly floods trap [149] the new dwellings on the Tapirapé River, so that here too, for months on end, the canoe replaces the horse for visits to neighbors. Naturally, in such an environment, the cultivation of the soil remains quite restricted, and this, incidentally, suits the nomadic bent of these small herders of cattle, who tend to exploit the soil extensively rather than intensively. This type of frontiersman, who originated on the fringes of our society and who has been for centuries the vanguard of our civilization in the penetration of Brazil, proceeds forward, ever forward, leaving behind him the huge empty spaces so characteristic of this country. He calls sertão bruto ["raw wilderness"] the land which is not yet familiar to him and to his fellows, and when he settles upon it, he regards it as his without any qualms. His ethnocentrism prevents him from understanding that the wilderness which has not yet

● 648 been explored by the Whites nevertheless has its owners. Those owners, that is, the Indians, do not as a rule overstep the boundaries of their own territory and strictly respect adjoining areas unless they intend to make war or to trade. Since ethnocentrism is the very human tendency to regard all things exclusively from the standpoint of one's own people, as though, with their concepts, they were the center of the world, it is not surprising that what seems "raw" to us often is not so to men of another culture. This attitude leads people of limited intellectual horizons, such as the frontiersmen, to regard the differences between themselves and the Indians as so enormous that the latter do not seem to be "people." Taking this as a premise, they act with impeccable logic when they conclude that the land of the aborigines is untenanted. And the authorities who ratify this conclusion prove themselves equally ethnocentric.

Far be it from me to depict the inhabitants of the Tapirapé River as furious invaders. They are humble people, movingly naive, who represent what is conventionally called "good people." It seems that it is not only for reasons of numerical inferiority that they seek peace with the Indians by treating them with kindness. In spite of this, of course, shocks are unavoidable. There are encounters where no blood is shed. Economic interests are met in the hunting and fishing zone of the Tapirapé, and the latter are deprived of protein. The interests which spread gonorrhea among the Karajá [Caraja] are of a different sort. In both cases, however, the Indians concerned are so pleasant that these encounters, in spite of their baleful consequences for the tribes concerned, are at worst "mild shocks" to the frontiersmen as compared with those they suffered from Indians of quite a different temper, namely, the Kaiapó and Chavante.

These Chavante and Kaiapó are Gê Indians, that is, they belong to the large group of tribes that offered greater resistance and gave greater frights to the White intruders than most other Brazilian Indians. They usually find the clash of solid clubs preferable to idle talk. [101] Tapirapé territory is wedged in between them. The northern Kaiapó are feared more than the Chavante, and in fact the number of their victims is larger than that of the strangers who lost their lives in [726] Chavante territory. Furthermore, the Kaiapó not only march on the Araguaia to do away with the frontiersmen and their houses, but also march south and attack Tampiitáua, as I shall mention later.

• 648 [141] The superiority complex, a characteristic product of ethnocentrism, is not lacking among the new inhabitants of the Tapirapé River. These people, who are called caboclo [backwoodsmen] by the city dwellers of Rio and São Paulo, in turn call the Indians by this term, thus following the custom of the north Brazilians. To us, caboclo is the man who goes barefoot. To those shoeless frontiersmen, however, caboclo is the man who does not even bother to wear pants. Although pants and shoes delimit the cultural distance that separates them from the Indians on the one hand and from us on the other hand, there is one fact that marks them as members of our society and of no other. These poor conquerors of the unknown are not exempt from taxes. They have to pay them in heads of cattle.

Concerning this, one should mention the historic settlement of São José, an aggregation of about 30 houses, swarming with disease and misery, located at one of the most beautiful spots on the Araguaia. The inhabitants pay taxes of various sorts and say that the government does nothing for them. They pay a school tax, for example, but they have no school. Our companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira, was the first doctor to visit them in 20 years. When the launch of the Indian Service goes by, these forlorn inhabitants of Goiás get a few medicines.

What would contribute to the frontiersman's feeling of superiority over the Indian, however, aside from the pants and the taxes, the taxes which enable him to belong to the capitalist world? Rifles are already found among the Karajá. And the Indians of the Araguaia are better fed, wash more often, and, as disclosed by the medical examination, suffer less from malaria and enjoy better general health than the so-called "civilized people" around them, who are for the most part, incidentally, Negroes and mulattoes. As an ethnocentric man, however, the frontiersman regards everything that differs from his own culture as inferior. The cultural differences between him and the Indian extend so thoroughly to every aspect of life, moreover, that they almost conceal the similarities caused by the identical geographical environment and by the fact that both groups belong to the same human species. Such tasty Indian dishes as the peanut, maize, and manioc soups, masticated by the women to saccharify them with the saliva, are, to the frontiersman, "filthy stuff" from which he turns in disgust. Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and

[262] [252]

648 Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and
[342] "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Oiampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

726 Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of Tampiitáua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitáua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitáua. Details
[115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father
648 M. H. Leiong (1). In it we read that the village was sacked and burned
727

1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947
Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

726 During the last days of August, Cayapo warriors--Gorotirés evidently--attacked the Tapirapé village while all the men were at Lake Tocunaré. Only the women, children, and the old man Camaraé were left. They killed two women and a young girl: Eirõa, wife of Tampiri, Amoou, wife of Perera, and Tamamãtchoa, and abducted a woman, a young girl, and a small boy: Iparénahí, wife of Camaraé, Amarai, daughter of Pereira, and Uãcuré, son of Eirõa (please excuse the transcription of these Tupy [Tupi] words). The old man shot his arrows, and the Cayapo "braves" fled after burning down two houses.

[648] 727 Father Palha and I found the frightened population at Pôrto Velho, where they had sought refuge, lacking everything, hungry, disheartened. In short, a heart-rending sight similar to what I have seen in Europe. We convinced the Tapirapés to go to their village. The women were afraid and tried to dissuade the men. Seven left with us, and four stuck it out to the end. We found this charming little village, which you were the last to visit along with Dr. Haroldo, savagely looted. We brought back the cudgels that were used in the slaughter. I shall describe them to you and give you many other details of this event. The Cayapos had returned that very morning to continue the looting. Unfortunately, we did not come upon them. We remained one day and one night. The three Tapirapés took up a load of cotton and flour (they have no more hammocks and suffer a great deal) and set fire to their village to prevent the enemy from utilizing it further. It was rather tragic. We returned to Pôrto Velho. They intend to settle

[164] 648 a few leagues from São João. I saw the large plots of these good, industrious, peaceful

●648 people, and it is a pity. Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins, but no one does anything about it. I shall leave in three or four days for Maraba, where I shall catch the plane. I hope to proceed directly to São Paulo, where I shall promptly look you up to see whether it would be possible to obtain urgent help for these poor Tapirapés.

I hope to see you soon and send you, esteemed Professor, my sincerest regards.

(S) M. H. Lelong, O.P.

[Translated from French.]

648 727 and that the survivors sought refuge in Pôrto Velho, where they lack foodstuffs, sleeping hammocks, cotton to make new hammocks, agricultural tools, and kitchen implements (2).

2. I have omitted those parts of my report in which I emphasized the need to send help to the survivors. The man who saved them was Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz, who gave them shelter and food. In September, 1948, Mr. Harald [166] Schultz, Assistant in Ethnology at the São Paulo Museum, found the majority of them living in sheds at the São Pedro ranch, the property of Mr. Lucio, located on the right bank of the Tapirapé.

648 An urgent measure to be taken is the establishment of a post on the upper Tapirapé River. Up to now, the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres [143], located at the mouth of that river, was intended to protect the Tapirapé Indians. It turned out to be inadequate for the purpose because it was too far removed from the habitat of the tribe. On the other hand, as early as 1942, when I commented on the attempts to resettle the Tapirapé at that spot on the Araguaia, I called attention to the fact that "the immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be

●648 carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupi tribe" (Sociologia, Vol. 4, p. 407). In this respect, indeed, the Tapirapé are unlike the true masters of the Araguaia, namely, the Karajá, who have been in contact with the Whites for centuries and who have seemingly developed, at least to some extent, a certain physical and mental resistance to them.

The impracticality of settling the Tapirapé at the mouth of the river of the same name does not imply the abandonment of the Heloísa Alberto Torres post. This post is indispensable not only to protect the northern Karajá group that is settled there and the other groups living down the Araguaia, but also to control the entrance to the Tapirapé River.

As a location for the future protective post of the Tapirapé, I would suggest the spot on the left bank called Pôrto Frederico by the frontiersmen in memory of my traveling companion of 1935, a British missionary who built a shelter there. It is located on a steep bank half a league from São Domingos, the spot where the Dominicans from Conceição do Araguaia usually land on their apostolic journeys. It is the last place where it is possible to moor a boat on the navigable stretch, for there is a waterfall not far above it. Here the trail begins, [487] perhaps several centuries old, that connects the river with the great forest inhabited by the Tapirapé from distant times, the edge of which may be reached in one day on foot or horseback during the dry season. A canoe with a motor at the stern takes two days, traveling from morning to nightfall, from Pôrto Frederico down to the mouth of the river, and usually takes no longer going up since the current is weak. Pôrto Velho is reached similarly in one day.

Apparently, Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz also noticed the advantages of Pôrto Frederico. When we arrived there on July 17, 1947, we found two families of vaqueros who had arrived on the previous day. On the orders of that rancher, they had already erected the framework of their future dwelling and they were preparing palm leaves to cover it. They explained that they had come to set up a ranch on these lands, and that their master intended to establish yet another one up-river, so that the entire margin of the Tapirapé River which has belonged so far to the Indians of the same name would now be occupied.

An Indian post established at Pôrto Frederico or its vicinity would not serve only to guard the territory set aside for the Tapirapé and to

offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be considered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources, lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

648 [166]

Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

648 657 [241] [311]

Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22

trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kasi, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their paralyzing their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen. The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

So far the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairabó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

São Paulo, Brazil.

Notes

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Prisa nativa do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, 1: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gê-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which are a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people — not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

Ta Te [192]

Te 177 648 797

A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere; Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1944-1948, 1948 B, 1948 SB, 1949. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

Ta 161 [166]

(3) Cf. Wagley (1943) and Baldus (1943 vol. CIII, 1948 B, 1948 SB, for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 137-138, who found the village called Tampitêma inhabited by 130 individuals in 1935, and only 63 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampitêma, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampitêma. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampitêma, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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of the Jesuits in 1739, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements slowly combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

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The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads, and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign disease (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign disease acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilian culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

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Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

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(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948) p. 95 ff. See also Fernandes (1948).

Te [171] [101]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guarani*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kliegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

Champukwi on the Trip to Furo do Pedro.

of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

Champukwi adjusted to Furo do Pedro with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo do Pedro were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink cachaça (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried cachaça only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

Charles Wagley

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *kwaterahé*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of